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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 PFIP-01 C-01 DODE-00 ANHR-01 EUR-01
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 EDS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
PM-01 P-01 RP-10 SP-01 SS-01 T-01 /025W
-----SCBB2C 021705Z /40

P 021426Z SEP 92

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1664
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

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LINDIS

PARIS FOR RAWSON AND PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III: RWANDAN PROPOSAL

REF: A) KIGALI 3622 B) KIGALI 3596

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PRIME MINISTER SKETCHES GOR POSITION

2. DESCRIBING THE NEXT ARUSHA SESSION AS A
NEGOTIATION FOR "POLITICAL INTEGRATION", PRIME
MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TOLD ME LATE YESTERDAY THAT HE
THINKS THE RPF SHOULD AGREE TO ENTER INTO THE PRESENT
GOVERNMENT AND TO PARTICIPATE WITH IT IN CREATING THE
ADDITIONAL CHANGES NEEDED FOR FULL INTEGRATION OF THE

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SOCIETY. HE SAID THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD ACCOMPLISH CHANGING ONLY TWO OR THREE PARTS OF THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM IN THE PROTOCOL OF APRIL, SUCH AS A NEW DIVISION OF THE MINISTRIES. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD LEAD TO CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OR OTHER STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. HE BELIEVES THE NUMBER OF CABINET POSTS IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE REDIVIDED TO INCLUDE THE RPF, NOT EXPANDED.

3. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED MY OPINION, OBVIOUSLY SEEKING SUPPORT FOR THIS POSITION. I TOLD HIM I FELT IT WAS A PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE OPENING PROPOSITION FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ALSO NOTED THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION WOULD BE TO PERSUADE THE RPF THAT THERE WAS IN THIS PROPOSAL REAL SHARING OF POWER AND REAL AUTHORITY FOR THOSE IN THE RPF WHO ENTERED IN. THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED THAT THIS WAS THE ESSENCE OF THE PROBLEM AND MUSED THAT THE GOR TASK WOULD BE EASIER IF THERE HAD BEEN FEWER DEADLOCKS IN THE CURRENT TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. I SUGGESTED THAT IF IT WERE NOT POSSIBLE TO CONVINCE

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THE RPF THAT THIS WAS A REAL PROPOSAL, THE NEGOTIATORS MIGHT HAVE TO SEEK NEW INSTRUCTIONS WHICH COULD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL CHANGE, PERHAPS EVEN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THAT IN SPITE OF FOOLISH "BLOCKAGES", THE GOVERNMENT IS FUNCTIONING AND THE RPF CAN HAVE A REAL ROLE WITHIN THIS STRUCTURE.

THE PARTIES DISAGREE

4. THE PRIME MINISTER OFFERED HIS VIEWS IN A MEETING AT HIS INITIATIVE SEPTEMBER 1. OVER A LONG LUNCH THE SAME DAY, THE RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE MDR, THE PM'S PARTY, TOLD ME WITH EQUAL CONFIDENCE THAT RWANDA SHOULD AGREE TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION IN ORDER TO GIVE GUARANTEES TO THE RPF THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO ENTER THE GOVERNMENT IN A REAL WAY. THIS POSITION, GIVEN TO ME BY FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AFTER HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THE SAME MORNING,

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RELATES CLOSELY TO THE POSITION PUT TO ME BY PL'S PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI LAST WEEK. I TOLD TWAGIRAMUNGU THAT I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE WISE FOR THE GOR TO DEVELOP AN OPENING NEGOTIATING POSITION WHICH WOULD CAUSE THE LEAST INTERNAL DISRUPTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA SHOULD CHOOSE TO SEEK AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AS A MEANS OF COMPLETING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AGREED, WESTERN OBSERVERS WOULD HARDLY BE IN A POSITION TO OBJECT.

COMMENT

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5. IT IS CLEAR TO US FROM THE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENCY (REF B) AND OTHERS IN THE MRND SUCH AS THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS GIVING ME THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL, ACCEPTABLE TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE MRND. WE WILL HAVE TO SEE IF THE IDEAS THEY HAVE TO FLESH OUT THIS BASIC FRAMEWORK HAVE ENOUGH SUBSTANCE TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING, AND IF NOT, HOW THE MDR AND PL WILL SEEK TO INVOLVE US IN MOVING THE PRESIDENT TO A NEW COMPROMISE.

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LIMDIS

PARTS FOR RAWSON AND PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:QADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PE WHO WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL
HABYARIMANA HIMSELF IS EITHER REPLACED OR NEUTERED IN
PLACE. CLEARLY THERE ARE Factions WITHIN THE RPF
ABOUT WHICH WE KNOW EVEN LESS. AND THE OPPOSITION
PARTIES HAVE SUBSTANTIAL TIES AND COMMUNICATIONS
LINKS WITH CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE RPF. WITHOUT
REVEALING NAMES, TWAGIRAMUNGU INFORMED ME OF A NUMBER
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OF COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE RPF TO SUPPORT HIS VIEW
THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE WAS THE KIND OF GUARANTEE
THAT THE RPF WILL BE DEMANDING.

7. WITHIN ALL OF THIS THERE IS A COMPROMISE THAT CAN
WORK. AND THE FIRST EFFORT OF THE COALITION
GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATING TEAM WILL BE TO PERSUADE THE
RPF THAT THEY ARE SINCERE IN SEEKING POLITICAL
INTEGRATION. END COMMENT.

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